1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

the money weekly to his wives for petty market purchases and does all major purchases of food and clothing on his own. He also pays for ceremonies, transportation, and most of the gift-giving engaged in by himself and others in the household. Except for the sale of cooked food, pottery production, and female hair dressing, men control all income producing work of any kind in the entire society.

Households as Consumers

Almost all people in Bornu use, obtain, or eat the things they need because they are members of particular households or are related to a nearby household as a subordinate of its household head. The patterns of consumption vary enormously from that of a rural peasant to that of a wealthy trader or political leader in the city. However, the vast bulk of the population stays within a fairly uniform range that involves a relatively low level of consumption. Most families, especially those in rural areas, eat two meals a day; one between 8:00 and 9:00 A.M. and the other in the early evening between 8:00 and 9:00 P.M. Men of the compound and their male friends eat together while the women eat separately. Smaller snacks are eaten during the day, and in the city it is common to eat more often especially among salaried workers who return home for breakfast about 9:00 to 9:30 A.M. and finish the work day at 2:00 to 2:30 P.M. at which time they eat a noon-day meal. The average rural household consumes about eight pounds of millet (the staple grain food) every day, or about one and a half tons per year. The millet comes from farm products used by the household plus any buying that has to be done to augment this. For those few at the higher end of the social scale food bills can be enormous. One political leader in the capital claims that during his heyday he used to feed as many as seventy people a day and had to have a very smoothly-running household to get this much food processed and ready for his guests on a daily basis. In the ordinary peasant household men give their wives money on a weekly basis to purchase condiments for the staple food and sometimes meat as well although many of the richer men prefer to buy meat themselves. The money, usually anywhere from thirty cents to about $1.50 is given to the wife, or to each wife, or sometimes to the senior wife who then divides it among the co-wives.[1]

To an outsider Kanuri food seems almost infinitely expandable. I have often watched one bowl of food brought into the presence of a household head. He would glance around at the half dozen or so of us present and then ask us to join him, as he had to do by custom. On the other hand household heads have complained to me that they feed too many. "But what can we do?" they say, friends and would-be clients or subordinates know when food is to be brought, and they simply appear, at which point custom forces the host to be gracious. Those who eat continually at a friend's or a relative's house are in his debt and he may use their services as he wishes. This is one of the principal means by which clientship starts to operate. If the client eats with the patron, and the patron asks for services, and if both are satisfied, the relationship soon becomes an established one.

Clothing, like food, is in the hands of the household head although, and as

[1] Nigerian money is in pounds, shillings, and pence. I have translated values here at the rate of $2.80 American to £1 Nigerian.

161 has been declining in the present century. The Kanuri Empire
[175] had suffered final defeat at the hands of Rabeh's invading forces in 1890, and the countryside had been ravaged in the
[164] succeeding decade. Venereal disease appears to have spread
[842] widely throughout the population leaving in its wake a marked decline in fertility and a resultant decrease in numbers of
311 the Kanuri population. There is consequently little pressure
[137] for land to farm. Large stretches of brush country are unworked, and the denser sections, along old water-courses, are
136 veritable jungles of brush and thorn. Larger wild-life have long since disappeared from Bornu, forced out by many centuries of human occupation, but some of the denser section of thicket might well support them today. A small herd of elephants is reported around Gumsa, in Geidam District, and of course elephants can be found in the extensive marshes along Lake Chad, but by and large the only game one sees are gazelle, monkeys, and birds, including occasional ostriches.

361 The Kanuri are a sedentary, agricultural people, who live in villages and towns. The fields which they farm encircle their villages. They are never found living in dispersed home-
• 369 steads. A basic division exists between Kanuri village life and Kanuri life in the towns and cities. This division corresponds to the classic distinctions between folk and urban polar extremes. Urban life was present in pre-contact Kanuri culture
[162] and consequently is well integrated into Kanuri culture. In fact, the Kanuri cities of the eighteenth century were unques-

369 tionably larger than anything found in Bornu today. However,
162 as in all pre-industrial societies, the bulk of the population is engaged in agriculture and lives in the many small villages dotting the plain.

361 One can never travel far in Bornu without encountering a
[491] village. Major villages are linked to one another and to towns
[487] by laterite roads. Tiny villages are linked by a network of paths and tracks to one another. Surrounding each village
423 are the fields farmed by each family. Farm land can be had
425 by clearing the brush and making a plot ready for farming.
241 Since this is so easily done, land and its inheritance are not important determinants of the social structure. In theory,
[776] all land belongs to Allah and is in the hands of the Shehu of
[643] Bornu, the political and religious head of all Kanuri. The Shehu distributed large fiefs to Kanuri lords who gave the land to the village heads for distribution to individual villagers. In practice, any newcomer to a village has only to ask the village head for permission to farm and suitable land will be given to him which he must, of course, clear for planting. It naturally happens that those most recently arrived in a village will be given fields furthest from the houses, so that it is obvious that certain fields are more desirable than others. In a town of some size this becomes important. Distant fields may be up to three miles beyond the edge of town, and walking out and back each day to plant or to harvest is a demanding task.
241 Farm land, however, is never bought and sold. In the city this
425
[178]

Lastly gum arabic, which is the base from which gum drops
137 are made, is collected from the kolkol tree (Acacia arabica).
222 The trees grow wild, and are fairly common in the area of Geidam. The villagers collect the solidified resin and sell the
[434] gum arabic to the companies. This is a secondary source of cash, and the distribution of the trees is fairly limited.

[262] Some species of plants are gathered for food. The leaves of the kuka tree are the most important, and are commonly used
224 in food preparation. Hunting is of minor importance. Full-time hunters are almost never found. In the larger villages and towns organized hunts are carried out by the young men. In such cases the game, typically gazelle and guinea fowl, are
226 surrounded and brought down by thrown sticks. Fishing is carried out in the rivers and in Lake Chad. Fish are caught by a variety of means--they are trapped in large woven traps, netted, and hooked, and in Lake Chad larger species are harpooned.
[262] Fish are an important food source for communities on the shores
[184] of rivers and lakes, but are not generally important for the Kanuri as a whole.

438 Trade always has played an important part in the Kanuri
443 economy, and this would naturally follow in a society where
[433] rural-urban distinctions are centuries old. The kasuqu, or
[369] market, is a central part of every Kanuri town. The Kanuri
[366] market is primarily and almost exclusively a local market, where village farmers can sell agricultural produce and buy the products made by artisans of the town. In addition, limited regional exchange is effected through the market. External

External
443 trade, involving groundnuts, hides and skins, and European
438
366 manufactured goods is not effected in the market-place. Every
[439] sizeable town has a weekly market day. Large towns have daily markets as well. Adjacent towns have staggered market days, forming loose market rings which link a number of towns. Itinerant middlemen can travel from one market town to the next with their goods, and a town is frequently known by the name of its market day, and will be referred to as "Saturday." Peo-
[484]
• [369] ple from small surrounding villages without markets will come into town on a market day from as far away as ten miles on foot, and from still further if they are fortunate enough to own a donkey or a horse.

B. Larger Features of the Political Organization.

1. The Structure of the Empire in Pre-Contact Times.

175
643 The dynasty of the Sefs came to an end in 1846, when the last Mai or king of Bornu, Mai Ibrahim, along with his son Ali Dalatumi, was killed. In their place ruled the son of Mohammad el Amin el Kanemi, the first of the Shehus, and the founder
[178] of the dynasty which today "rules" Bornu. Though a dynasty which had ruled Bornu for a thousand years had come to an end, the structure of the empire seems to have remained essentially the same.

[192] Shehu Omar, the son of el Kanemi, took the title of Shehu from the Arabic title, Sheikh. His father had been a Kanembu, from Kanem which lies north and east of Bornu. El Kanemi brought

779 58 [593] marriage contract, is a common Islamic feature. Sexual rights of the husband, as well as his responsibilities for the support of his wife, are supported by Islamic law. Lastly, Islam does not necessarily recognize marriage as a permanent arrangement; [182] consequently divorce is simple and commonly resorted to. All of these practices, commonly associated with Islamic societies, are characteristic of Kanuri society and are well integrated in Kanuri custom concerning marriage and the family.

D. The Community

162 [161] The population of Bornu Emirate is just over a million people. About one-third live in towns with a population of more than 7,000 (see Table I). Following Maiduguri, the capital, which has a total population of 83,327 including the outlying villages, but only 56,777 in the town proper, there are ten towns with populations exceeding 10,000. The average size of these ten towns is 13,879. There are 16 more towns in Bornu Emirate with populations of between 7,000 and 10,000. These 26 towns, plus Maiduguri proper, account for 325,640 people, almost a third of the population.

• 369 632 121 Although there may be some question whether a town with a population of 10,000 may properly be called "urban," it is clear that on the folk-urban continuum, such towns are distinctly approaching the urban pole[1]. These towns have few or none of the

1. If Miner can call Timbuktu, with its population of 6,500, a "primitive city," then these are certainly towns, or "urban centers." see Horace Miner, The Primitive City of Timbuktu (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 52]

369 632 121 characteristics of the folk society; individuals are specialists of one sort or another; the towns are centers of government at the district level; and stratification rather than social homogeneity characterizes their populations. In this sense it is important to distinguish between Kanuri culture in its urban manifestations and Kanuri culture in the rural villages. These two types of community exemplify two concomitant variants of Kanuri culture. Since there is no sharp line of demarcation indicating at which point a village turns into a town, the distinctions made here are seen to shade imperceptibly into one another. At their extremes, however, the differences are considerable.

621 [622] Probably the bulk of the populace live in villages of less than 1,000 people. A Lowan, or more typically a Bulama in the smaller village, is the appointed political head of the village. [463] There is little or no specialization, and everybody farms and depends entirely on the products of his agricultural labors. [622] The Bulama lives at the same level as the rest of the village. He may own a horse, and his household may be slightly larger, [565] but he works in the fields as does everyone else. One man may be slightly wealthier than his neighbor, and may own several sheep and goats, but social classes do not exist. Villages are [595] divided into compounds, within which a family lives. By and [593] large, men in the villages have but a single wife, and she and 342 her children will live within the compound walls. In the villages, the compound walls are of woven mats (sagdi). The houses are almost entirely of the round-walled, thatched-roof type.

632 366 368 Two other foci of the Kanuri town are the market-place and the central mosque. The market-place is of course the center for all local trade, and on the particular market day of a town, activities center in the market, which is alive with people. On Friday, the central mosque, where people gather to pray, becomes the communal center. Throughout the week the compound of the Ajia (the Ajari), should the town be the administrative center of a district, is the focus of bureaucratic activity. In addition, activity centers around other public buildings: the court, the school, the dispensary, the public reading room, etc.

• 369 632 463 The three foci of the Kanuri town indicated above, the Ajari, the market-place, and the mosque, are of themselves strong arguments for the urban nature of the Kanuri town. Each is typically the center of an urban activity and urban occupations. The Ajia has, under him, a range of bureaucratic specialists: the Alkali, the Chief Scribe, the Treasurer, the Department of Police, the school-teachers and dispenser. The mosque is representative of the various religious specialists: the Imam, and the many malams of the town. The market-place typifies commercial activity, which more than anything else is characteristic of urban life, with its various specialists in trade and in crafts.

E. Social Organization

611 171 182 Unlike the majority of African societies, the Kanuri do not have unilineal descent. As Meyer Fortes notes, "The more

584 boy; if she does not and refuses to marry him, the arrangements are for naught. The father cannot force the marriage, and marriages arranged solely by parents over the objection of the children, cannot take place.

582 369 Average age at which boys marry differs from the small villages to the larger towns. In the small villages boys marry young, and when they reach the age of eighteen or nineteen all are married. In the large towns and cities, boys marry after age twenty, and some do not marry until they reach thirty. Girls marry at the same age in the villages and in the cities.

582 If the girl's family is able to provide her with household equipment and clothing, she will marry at the age of eleven or twelve. If the family is poor she will marry slightly later, at the age of thirteen or fourteen. The minimum age of marriage for a girl is ten. A marriage at that age is possible, but the girl is con-

[833] sidered young. A husband usually waits before beginning to have sexual intercourse with a bride of such tender years. A boy

[591] may marry at the very young age of twelve or thirteen. If his father wishes to arrange such a marriage, he will build his son a house adjacent to his own, and husband and wife will grow up together. A boy will postpone marriage in order to accumulate money for a bride-price. If the father of a boy has no money to pay the bride-price for his son, the boy will postpone marriage for several years while father and son farm and save money. A girl never postpones marriage; by the age of fifteen almost all girls are married.

586 where a former spouse might attack his wife's new lover with a
578
152 knife.

3. Residence.

591 It is usually stated that after marriage, a boy's father
593
369 builds his house for him if he is able to, and he builds his
183 son's house close to his own. This is subject to a number of qualifications, the foremost being the all-pervading difference between rural and urban Kanuri culture. In the rural villages the ideal is frequently realized, and the son marries and lives
606 not far from the house of his mother and father. His wives then prepare meals for their mother- and father-in-law, as well as for their husband. The old mother continues to cook for her husband, but her daughter-in-law sends her additional food as well. However, if there is no plot of land on which to build a house adjacent to his father's house, the son's house may be built any place else. If the boy's father is dead, his mother may build the house for him, or he may work and earn money with which he may build his own house. If the boy's father is a poor man and has no money for building his son's house, his son may leave the village, marry elsewhere, and build his house in another village or another town. If he marries a girl whose father is a rich man, the father-in-law may build a house for his daughter and her husband, though it is much more common for the father of the boy to build the house. If a man with a rich farm has several daughters and no sons, his sons-in-law may come to live near his house and help him farm.

near his house and help him farm.

In the towns, the situation is much more fluid, and wealth differences are more pronounced. Consequently there is considerable mobility and a greater tendency for sons to strike out on their own. In addition, there is a constant stream of younger people moving from the villages to the towns and cities, and from one town to another. These conditions, taken together with the relaxed attitude which the Kanuri hold toward a standard rule of residence (that is, that ideally sons should live close to their fathers, though other forms are equally acceptable), would lead one to conclude that post-marital residence among the Kanuri exhibits a tendency towards initial patrilocal residence, particularly in the rural areas, but that neolocal residence is more characteristic of the entire society.

When parents grow old, a married son or married daughter can bring them to live in his or her home. A married son may build a house close to his own for his old parents to live in, and would supply them with food and clothing. A man may be required by the Alkali to send food to his old parents, but he is not forced to build a house for them close to his own.

b. The Family.

As is evident from the above discussion of postmarital residence, extended families when they do occur among the Kanuri, are exceptional since most frequently postmarital residence is neolocal. At certain times, as when a young married couple live

592 Relationships within the household are patterned after kinship
[602] relations, and kinship terminology is used in referring to these relations, but kinship is not the basis for establishing these relationships in the first place. The household is a corporate group, in that its membership is clearly defined, it operates with common interests of the group in mind, and the household group is itself structured and dependent upon the fulfillment of mutual obligations. In this sense, the household group among the Kanuri is functionally very similar to the corporate kin group in a society with unilineal descent.

The household is made up of all those individuals living within compound walls; the physical definition of the compound
[594] corresponds to the social unit of the household. A household may be as small as two people--husband and wife, and in a statistical sense the commonest type of household is made up of
592 the nuclear family. It was noted that in the small villages
369 wealth differences between various members of a village were
565 slight, and consequently polygamy tends to be rare. It fol-
[595] lows, too, that under those circumstances the household is small, usually no larger than the nuclear family. In the larger towns, households may be very large, since households vary directly in size with the wealth and social class of the household head. Many of the factors which enter into the growth of a man's household concern the system of social stratification among the Kanuri. Some indication of the nature of social

592 565 369 stratification among the Kanuri has been given, but more extended discussion will be reserved for a later point.

351 392 To this point the compound has been described as an area enclosed by walls, with a single entrance gate. Each compound has as its head an adult married male, referred to as the master of the house (kəmanzə fatobe). The compound is divided into fərək (literally meaning wide or open area) and zəgəsə (narrow area). Each wife has her own zəgəsə, and the master of the house may, in addition, have a house of his own. The open area, or fərək, is the open communal area, and servants, retainers and slaves, with their wives and children, may live there.

592 Since the family as a unit has been described above, and it was also noted that occasionally elderly parents are taken in by their married sons or daughters, other categories of individuals who may be found as part of a household will now be described.

592 567 [565] Slaves are a part of the household, but since only royalty (ngalwo) or aristocracy possess slaves, most of the population do not have slaves as a part of their households. Those heads of families who do own slaves normally count their slaves in the hundreds. Few of these become part of the household of their owners. Male slaves are a part of their master's household only if their own families performed duties within the household of their master; most slaves today live on the lands of their former masters, far from the household of their present master. Neither master nor slave, under such circumstances,

592 • 369 There is still another way to become part of a large household. This is the most informal of the various sets of relationships, and is particularly characteristic of the larger towns and cities. In the villages, a man who is a talaka can always clear new land, farm industriously, marry, and establish 592 369 874 463 571 his own household. In the larger towns and cities, it is extremely difficult to make one's fortune without the help of some protector. Consequently it becomes imperative for a young man recently come to the city to find such a protector, and when he does he becomes part of that man's household. Craftsmen and traders form the bulk of the specialists in the towns and cities, but how is a young man to learn a trade, or to get his start in commerce? He does so by becoming attached to the household of a craftsman, a leather-worker or dyer, where he begins by performing menial tasks of various sorts and where he eventually learns that trade. Or he becomes part of the household of a wealthy trader, where once again he performs common household tasks until he has demonstrated his trustworthiness and his willingness to work hard. The master of the house will then begin to entrust him with increasingly more important tasks, until he becomes the trusted agent of his master, dealing in large sums of money and given important responsibilities. Throughout this time he is referred to as <u>tata njima</u>, son of the house. 592 609 571 In households made up of more than the simple nuclear family, tata njima form the largest single category of individuals. The relationship between tata njima and the komanzə fatobe is conceived of, and patterned after the kinship relationship between

567 Mai; under the reign of the Shehus only slaves say "komanyi"
576 to their masters and to the Shehu, and certain of the Shehu's
178 free-born kabuna address him in that way today.

576 A slave may be given from one master to another, and a slave may be freed at the will of his master. A man will call in witnesses to be present and note that he is giving such and
[673] such a slave his freedom. This may also be done in a will after a man's death, though he may not free all of his slaves in this fashion as this would be interpreted as seeking to disinherit one's descendants, which is forbidden by law. A man may also give a chir her freedom, and marry her as a regular wife if he so wishes.

596 The buying and selling of slaves has been prohibited in
178 this century, but the institution of slavery persists. Slaves,
[304] or rather susana, are still distinguished by their distinctive
[291] scars, and by their bare heads--a characteristic which is immediately noticeable since all free-born adult Kanuri males wear
[554] hats. The persistence of slavery, however, is clearly a function
[369] of the need to attach one's self to the household of an important man, particularly in urban situations. This has always been a characteristic of Kanuri society, and it continues to be so today. The slave is no longer forced to remain in the position of slave, but the potential relationship is frequently actuated by slave and by master, and as long as each meets the expectations of the other in satisfactory fashion, the relationship is perpetuated. Furthermore the status of the slave was never that

Furthermore the status of the slave was never that
567 of a degraded individual, since titled slaves were themselves
178 part of the nobility. In fact, a slave who is part of an im-
564 portant man's household may refer to "talaka" in a derogatory
156 manner, indicating his own superior position to that of the im-
poverished peasant farmer.

3. Talaka.

565 The talaka in the towns and villages formed the bulk of the population in the days of the empire just as they do today. In former times they were the talaka of a particular chima; today they are the talaka of a particular District Head.

565 But the class of talaka is far from homogeneous. The
369 primary distinction to be made is between rural and urban
554 talaka. Rural talaka do tend to be a rather homogeneous group. Urban talaka may fall into a variety of types, which differ in
[175] their relative wealth and prestige. In the days of the empire
565 there were wealthy talaka who lived in the cities. Trade had
369 always been important in Bornu, and a class of important trad-
554 ers formed a segment of the urban talaka population. Similarly,
463 the various specialists and artisans who lived in the towns and
[441] cities formed distinct groups within the talaka population, just as other types of specialists were and still are viewed as low-status groups.

565 Since they are all talaka, none wield political power, and
554 so one might say that there were no differences between the various types of talaka with respect to power. However, there

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121 tures" which have served as models for the anthropologist. The
184 Kanuri have had a powerful conquest state, a market economy,
[illegible] and a stratified society. These larger sociological characteristics have brought about sub-cultural differences, which have both vertical and horizontal manifestations. The vertical segments of Kanuri culture are found in regional variations: Kanuri sub-groups like the Manga, Mobber and Buduwai. Horizontal
[36] segments inhere in the rigid class system. The distinction between rural and urban manifestations of Kanuri culture are both vertical and horizontal in nature: vertical in that towns and villages represent geographically distinct units, horizontal in that towns and cities are a reflection of political and economic complexity, and townsmen share in a common sub-culture wherever they are located.

121 Given the complexity of Kanuri culture noted above, it is imperative that the observer describe a particular community rather than Kanuri culture as a whole. It is necessary, first of all, to discuss the particular nature of the community which he studied, to define it within the various dimensions which have been set forth as guide lines for Kanuri culture generally. The problem which has provided the orientation for the present study will be presented within the cultural context of a single community. While the writer feels that the approach suggested here is valid for culture contact situations generally, he realizes that the initial level of generalization requires him to move from a discussion of a particular community, with its own

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individual character, to an entire culture, many times the size of his single community.

The present study is, then, a community study, as must usually be the case in the study of complex societies. The community is the town of Geidam, where the author and his wife lived for one year, from the ending of the rains in 1956 until the rains ceased once again in 1957.

A. The geography and ecology of Geidam.

Geidam, with its population of 11,032 is one of the largest towns in Bornu Province (see Table I) and represents urban Kanuri culture. The people of the countryside between Geidam and Nguru, some 110 miles to the west, are predominantly Manga, a Kanuri sub-group speaking a Kanuri dialect which differs slightly from Kanuri proper. To the east, towards Damasak, are Mobber, another sub-group. In the town of Geidam, however, the townsfolk are Kanuri, and speak standard Kanuri. This is primarily because urban Kanuri in Geidam have more in common with urban Kanuri coming from other large towns and cities, and share more with them than they do with the farming peoples of the small villages surrounding Geidam.

Geographically, Geidam lies in the northernmost part of the province, in fact, the northernmost part of Nigeria, since the border separating Nigeria from the independent country of Niger is only twenty miles north. The land is a flat sandy plain, with scrub vegetation, which becomes increasingly more

796 though it was admitted that there were Kanuri who drank water
785 in secret. In Maiduguri there are Kanuri who eat openly in
183 the market-place during Ramadan, but Geidam is too small a town
[369] for anyone to violate religious custom so blatantly. As Rama-
785 dan in 1957 fell in the hottest and most uncomfortable time of
512 the year, fasting, and in particular abstaining from drinking,
is very demanding. Most people radically alter their schedules.
During Ramadan they customarily rise at 3 A.M. at the call of
a waker, pray and drink something and then remain up doing
their work until sunrise (6 A.M.). They then work for an ad-
ditional two or three hours until the sun is high in the sky,
when they retire to sleep until three or four in the afternoon.
[462] From four until sunset (6:45 P.M.) people again work, and the
women pound and grind millet. At sunset the Ladan calls to an-
[262] nounce the end of the day's fast. People then drink quantities
[272] of a porridge made of millet and soured milk (bəlәm). At ten
or eleven in the evening people eat the one hearty meal of the
[517] day. Activities such as visiting, chatting and strolling con-
tinue on into the night. During Ramadan, the entire daily
schedule is shifted so that people sleep through the hottest
hours of the day, work during the cooler periods at sunrise and
at sunset, break the fast with a light meal which is followed
by a heavy meal some hours later, and spend much of the night
in leisure activities. In actual fact little work is accomplished
in this month.

785 As the sun set on Tuesday, April 30th, everyone looked
796

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

[GEIDAM]

128 within that community. This section, then, is a particularization of the section on social organization in the preceding chapter. It will deal with kinship in an urban community; the data on which the present discussion is based are taken from a sample of individuals (the construction of which will be discussed later) chosen from the community of Geidam. It should be considered against the more general background provided earlier.

Much of the data in this section are presented in the form of tables, wherein individuals are grouped into categories which are contrasted with each other. There are eight groupings in all, and each stands for a category within Kanury social structure which is significantly represented in the town of Geidam. At this point in the discussion, all of the categories should be readily recognizable since their roles in the community have previously been described and discussed. In the following chapter, Chapter IV, they will be considered in yet another context as the problem of acculturation will be treated in terms of categories in Kanuri social structure. At that time, the manner in which the various categories were selected, and the choice of individuals who make up the categories will be described in detail.

1. Marriage.

562 It had been mentioned earlier that boys in the small vil-
569 lages marry earlier than they do in the cities. It may be seen

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G. Social Stratification in Geidam.

56 178 177 • 369 Social stratification in Geidam may be viewed in terms of the interaction of three sets of variables. These are: the traditional Kanuri system of social stratification; the social structure of an urban community; and the influences on Kanuri culture brought about by contact with the Industrial West.

1. The traditional stratification system in Geidam.

565 [554] Aristocracy in Geidam is represented by a handful of individuals. However, though they are few they occupy the positions of greatest power in the community. The term aristocrat properly refers only to Yerima Mustapha, the Ajia, for only he holds a noble title granted him by the Shehu. However, Alkali Baba Kura, the son of a chief Imam and himself a powerful figure in the judiciary, and Sidi Momoɔ Yerima's nephew and an NA messenger in Geidam, must also be considered to belong to the aristocracy, particularly in view of their close ties through kinship with members of the aristocracy. Kinship links to the aristocracy, however, are an ambiguous criterion, since kinship is not always the determining factor in succession. Moreover, a number of other individuals in Geidam, particularly among the NA Malams, are also able to trace ties of kinship to the aristocracy.

567 Slaves are a distinctive social element in the community only if their masters, too, are present as members of the com-

567 status of slave therefore does not really exist as an important determinant in defining the place of these people within the Geidam community structure.

565 In terms of the traditional stratification system, most of the people of Geidam are talaka, neither aristocracy nor slaves.

2. Urban Social Structure.

463 The second variable, urban social structure, is much more 369 important in defining social stratification in Geidam. Most 565 Geidamites are specialists of one sort or another. In contrast to the village farming population, most of the people of Geidam make a living by practicing some special skill. They are middlemen in trade, craftsmen, religious specialists and bureaucrats in the political system. It is primarily this differentiation which defines the community as an urban community.

463 One might divide the various specialties found in the 565 community of Geidam in a number of ways. Specialties requiring manual skills might be contrasted with those requiring intellectual abilities; specialties requiring long periods of training might be grouped and compared with those requiring only a little specialized training. The approach adopted here in dividing the various specialists in the Geidam community into groups which might be compared is to look at the sphere of culture with which each of these groups of specialists is concerned. Thus there are several groups of specialists in

prestige in addition to those previously available in Kanuri culture, and that these new paths are sometimes in conflict with the traditional paths. These conflicts in turn have brought about shifts in the relative positions of certain groups in the community structure, particularly among the talaka. The position of these groups in relation to one another in the community of Geidam represents the social structure of Geidam. The social structure of Geidam, then, is a result of the interaction of the three variables discussed here: the traditional system of social stratification, the urban nature of the community, and the influences upon it of the Industrial West.

[GEIDAM]

correct conduct more than any other group in the sample.

Turning from the area of Western material goods, several questions were concerned with religious behavior. Inroads affecting religious practices can be seen among some very acculturated Kanuri in Maiduguri. In Geidam, however, there is not sufficient anonymity to permit any serious deviations from religious practices. Thus when asked whether he fasted during the month of Ramadan, every individual in the sample said that he did fast. Another question concerned fasting during a second religious holiday, that of Tsuro Mbulo, when fasting is not mandatory as at Ramadan. Individuals may fast on Tsuro Mbulo if they wish to, for one, two, or three days. It can be seen from Table XXIV that 34 individuals state that they do fast on Tsuro Mbulo, while only 10 do not fast then. Since this is an optional fast day, there are no sanctions against those who do not fast. Nevertheless, there is some shame attached to not fasting. Some who did not fast stated frankly that they were too lazy, or that fasting was difficult. Others stated that they intended to fast in the future; still others claimed that they were too young to fast (though their ages may have been in the late thirties). The ten individuals who do not fast are distributed over a number of groups. In only three groups were there no individuals who ignored the fast of Tsuro Mbulo. These are the Koranic Malams, whom one would expect to adhere closely to strict norms in the area of religious behavior, the Canteen Operators and the Low-status Individuals.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 279]

a Yoruba woman. The Kabuna are an intermediate group, and show little variability in their preferences. The Craftsmen are very consistent in their resistance to marriage with women of any of the tribes offered to them. The Talaka on the other hand show a wide variation in their attitudes towards the four tribes. They are almost unanimous (88 per cent) in their objection to marriage with a Fulani woman, but one half would marry a Babur woman. Presumably urban versus rural factors and the degree of acculturation towards Kanuri culture which the Babur have demonstrated would lead Talaka to favor the Babur and oppose the Fulani. The Low-status individuals are the only completely unanimous group in this respect. None of them would marry women from any of the four tribes offered to them.

Another aspect of marriage is willingness to marry an educated woman. Responses to the question: would you marry a Kanuri woman who had gone to school and who spoke English, are presented in Table XXXVI. Most people (73 per cent) said that they would marry an educated woman. Reasons offered for marrying such a woman mention the usefulness of a knowledge of English and the money which a wife of that sort could earn. Two people note that they would marry such a wife only if she prayed regularly, implying that Western education is often accompanied by a decline in piety and the practice of religious ritual. In opposing marriage with such a woman, people state that an educated wife would be a better and more accomplished person than

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 324]

175 871 necessary to a growing administration. In Bornu, a provincial school was set up in Maiduguri in 1915 with eleven pupils which taught Hausa and Kanuri (using English script) and arithmetic.(1) Muslim religious knowledge and Arabic were also made part of the curriculum, while English did not come in until somewhat later. By 1916 there were 74 pupils all drawn from the ranks of the aristocracy.

According to the opinion of contemporary officials who have worked in several areas of northern Nigeria, European education in Bornu is far behind that of any other province in the region. Certainly most of the schools that can be seen today are usually less than 10 years old, so that education in the European sense of the word has only recently been made available in any appreciable extent to the people of Bornu. Today each District has at least one small elementary school and the provincial secondary school has been enlarged. 175 871 167 This dearth of western educated personnel has brought to Bornu many outsiders to fill the necessary jobs which the European and his record-keeping culture and technology require. Due to over-population and a much longer tradition of western education in their own area, a large number of these have been Ibo people from southeast Nigeria.

175 361 [132] In 1907 the British plan to rebuild the old 19th century capital of Kuka was abandoned due to the extreme aridity of the local area, and the capital was henceforth situated at Maiduguri on the Ale river basin. Kuka soon dwindled in size and became a rural village. 175 369 433 178 On the other hand, the new capital which had previously had a fairly large market could not produce enough grain to feed the suddenly expanded population which flowed in when it became the center of the Emirate. It was therefore found necessary from 1907 to 1914 to force

(1) Annual Report Bornu Province: 1915

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the Districts adjacent to the new capital to take turns bringing in to Maiduguri approximately 10 tons[1] of millet per week in excess of the amount usually brought to market. This was to ensure that the expanded urban population might have enough grain available for sale to meet its needs. In a similar but less spectacular manner each District headquarters became an expanded market town when the fief-holders came there to live bringing with them their large following and specialized needs. Thus inadvertently and concomitantly to the political reorganisation which the British carried on, an economic [565] readjustment was made. The consumptive needs of the large upper class which moved to Maiduguri, and the smaller enclaves of this same class which had moved out to the Districts had to be satisfied. That is to say, new nuclei of consumption were created in the Kanuri state [491] while others were abandoned or made smaller. Distributive channels of consumption and production developed in response to these changes in the settlement patterns of the non-productive upper class and roads were built connecting the District capital to Maiduguri and linking one District capital to another.

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In other aspects of economic activity, the British quite strenuously put down the slave trade and helped promote the growth of trade from Bornu towards the west (Kano) and south.[2] This soon brought the Bornu-Tripoli trade to a sad end, and Bornu's primary source of external trade came from its position in Nigeria and the west coast of Africa. At first, gum arabic and skins formed the major export

(1) The Annual Report for 1907 gives the figure as 800 ss (one sa is approximately equal to 25 lbs).

(2) An ex-slave trader in Bornu reported that his last raid had been conducted circa 1921-2. He gave up the trade because of the strong opposition from the European authorities which made the trade lucrative but dangerous.

581 than high ranking men, if they had to choose between these two attributes
581 in a husband. This type of distinction was more easily elicited from
369 urban persons or upper class informants than from rural peasants, who only
565 discuss such a question in a fantasy-like conversation which many are not willing to do. Lower class informants in the rural areas often refused to consider questions about whether they would like to marry wealth or rank answering only "andi tala" (we are peasants or commoners).

581 Crosscutting the foregoing classification of marriage with virgins or non-virgins are several subclassifications which describe in a somewhat sharper fashion the nature of the relationships involved in the contraction of the marriage.

581 According to custom any variety of marriage may be a Ayia
593 kulle, a marriage of seclusion or partial seclusion. In practice, this
565 kind of marriage is almost totally restricted to the upper classes and usually implies only a partial seclusion. The woman may go out to visit under cover of darkness and escorted, or may even go out of the compound during the day, again escorted, for some very special reason such as a rite de passage ceremony which she is obligated to attend. One very high ranking District Head claimed that his senior wife, who had been married to him for many years, had never been out of his compound except when he changed Districts, and once when he had arranged an escorted trip to Mecca for her.

Women of this kind are exempt from any of the ordinary wifely duties which take them beyond the compound walls, such as getting water at a public well, or helping on the farm, etc. It is no wonder then that such marriages are almost totally restricted to the households of the higher ranks of society. No man wishes his wife to be seen excessively in public. However it is only the rich and powerful who can afford

000 come progressively remote from their own.

548 Exceptions to the normal pattern occur. In some cases
= [369] the girls become prostitutes (alangnoma), although this is more common in the urban areas where there is less visibility and higher demand for this stigmatized occupation. In Magumeri village, there was one active prostitute of whom it was said she had never been properly mar-
589 ried. Another young woman of about eighteen to twenty years had not as yet been married. In 1956, she was still wearing the small girls' hair style, which she finally changed in 1957 to that of an adult woman. Her slightly sub-normal intelligence was socially recognized, and to this characteristic was attributed her inability to obtain a husband. She was, by 1957, trying to identify herself as a zower, i.e. a divorced woman. That is to say, she declared herself openly available sexually to all males. Informants claimed that her chances of finding a husband were exceedingly slim. Another girl of fourteen or fifteen had already passed puberty and was unmarried. Rumour and gossip ran around that she was not a virgin, i.e. adult men had slept with her, and it was said that her father would have a very difficult time ever finding a husband who would take her as wife. The child seemed to be suffering increasingly from her inability to identify herself as a girl awaiting marriage or as a developing young woman which all her age-mates had by now become.

885 These exceptions exemplify a basic precept of Kanuri cul-
582 ture. In order to obtain a normal status in the society a female must
871 have had a first marriage in or around the time of puberty. Failure to do so inhibits her achievement of respectable adult status. This is one of the primary reasons why European Secondary education for Kanuri girls receives so much opposition from the local population. The idea

554 602 [156] lower level. A high born, successful chief explained the improper, disreputable behaviour of another chief by claiming that this sort of thing was not surprising behaviour from the son of a slave. At the peasant level, birth status can count as well in raising or lowering an individual in the eyes of his fellows. A man is given higher status because his father is rich or is a powerful Koranic mallam, while it may be whispered of another that his mother was a pagan, or his father was a blacksmith, thus lowering his status in the eyes of others.

565 602 554 As in most complex stratified societies, birth in Bornu into any one level determines to a large measure what range up or down of status positions an individual is likely to achieve in his lifetime.(1) There is a much higher chance that high status positions are occupied by the sons of high status persons rather than the sons of peasants. [178] [648] Western education and the plethora of jobs opening up is latterly creating a more widely mobile society, but it was British policy at the beginning of the colonial period to educate the sons of chiefs. The advantages of this policy were soon perceived by the leaders of the society. [871] [369] Consequehtly, a large proportion of the young western educated group are sons of the traditional political leaders. There is no conflict over this tendency from the rural population, who still do not value western education very highly, although rumblings of resentment are heard in the large urban centre. 565 463 602 At the peasant level many of the craft workers in Magumeri, the potters, dyers, blacksmiths, calabash makers and the other craftsmen, are from kin groups that have engaged in these industries "duk" (right back through time), for as long as any of them can remember. However, except for the potters (females) and blacksmiths,

(1) cf. Lipsett, S.M. and Bendix, R., Social Mobility and Occupational Career, American Journal of Sociology Vol. LVII (March 1952) pp. 494-504.

556 so openly about his own financial matters and property to the incessant
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(123) questions which were thrown at him. They insisted that this would only lead to a multiplication of requests for gifts of money, clothes, food,
(251) and loans. Again, this is one of the reasons the Kanuri give for having both above and below ground storage pits for food crops. A household head is very reluctant to ever discuss exactly how many storage pits he has in his compound or how much of last year's crops remains uneaten. If this information can be obtained at all, much assurance has to be given that it is to be kept entirely confidential.

But the conflict over the proper consumption of wealth by self or others for status validation is not completely solved by covert
(152) savings. Since the values of the society are, to some extent, always the values of a majority of its individual members, this confict takes place both in the individual's social and his psychological life, and is in this writer's opinion, one of the main sources of anxiety among the individual members of Kanuri society.

Rural/Urban

• 369 Although rural or urban status can be changed by residence,
829 there is a differentiation, more sharply made by upper class city dwellers, between "bush" (rural) people and urban dwellers. City people feel themselves to be more "advanced" and sophisticated, better informed, and more socially mobile than the rural population whom the city dwellers consider to be ignorant, dirty and untrustworthy. The rural people make much less distinction between urban and rural residence, although they all know that there are many "wonderful" things in the city, such as the cinema, or the Maiduguri market where goods from all over the world are on sale daily. Another difference noticeable immediately to the

• 369 Another difference noticeable immediately to the 216.
342 stranger is the house type. In the cities, people for the most part live
829 in mud dwellings, often with corrugated iron roofing, while in the "bush" the peasant contents himself with a grass-roofed hut. In 1957-58 several of the rich leaders in Borau were building, under private contract, city houses for themselves of burnt brick, with steel windows, electricity, and cement floors.

369 In Maguneri, complaints against rural people are always heard
829 from the N.A. officials stationed there, whose homes are in Maiduguri, the capital. The constantly speak of the permanent residents of the bush as dirty and immoral, and claim that they would never marry a "bush" girl.
[585] When the District Head did marry a girl from a neighbouring rural town, the wedding foods cooked by her female relatives and distributed to the dignitaries of Maguneri were of such a low quality that it became a standing joke to tell of the rural kind of marriage that the District Head had made. On the other hand, the rural people do not feel as great a difference between themselves and others of their own social level in the city. They know the city to be more heterogeneous ethnically than the rural areas, but this does not affect their lives a great deal, either in the bush or when in the city on visits. The rural person does, however, distinguish between himself and those like him, and the civil servant from the city who is in the bush to administer it. These administrative personnel are feared, respected, and considered to occupy a different world whose income is higher, and whose power is dangerous. The rural peasant consequently avoids the civil servant in the bush, unless his confidence is won over through continued and harmless association.

Class as Status and Socio-Cultural Segmentation

121 In a complex stratified society having many dimensions of status and involving social mobility up or down these dimensions, the

556 565 829 the range of statuses he associated most closely with his own life.(1) The differing life experiences of large segments of the population bring about common ranges of experience for the whole segment. Thus rural peasants form one large massive segment which can be called a class.

565 369 A large number of people in the city feel themselves to be a part of this lower class segment, the talà or peasants. Certainly the common poverty among them keeps them all within one category of economic [166] activity (materially); however, other factors are involved. A large portion of the city population are extremely recent arrivals in the urban [103] centres. Bornu cities, of which Maiduguri (or Yerwa as it is called in Bornu) is the largest, have grown enormously in the past few decades. This means that most of the people in urban centres are of recent rural origin and thus still retain many of the sentiments of their background.(2) This is not meant to contradict the discussion above on the rural/urban. However, it should be remembered that the distinction is extremely var- [241] ious and very recent for many people. Another unifying factor is the maintenance of rural farms by city people, who move out, or send out a son or a servant, to cultivate a farm in the bush during the growing season, thus retaining their contact with the rural areas. One of the other

(1) Differing ranges of experience and personal aspirations may cause an expansion of the scale which people refer to. Thus one very ambitious young trader, from a peasant background, who still lived in the bush but was contemplating a move to the city, told the writer immediately, when asked, that Alhassin Dan Tata of Kano (one of the richest men in Nigeria) was a rich man. Nevertheless, lower class bush people generally used a frame of reference more nearly similar to the young peasant above.

[162] (2) Population figures for Maiduguri are as follows (see Coleman, J.S., op. cit. p. 74):

1921	1931	1953
16,274	24,359	54,646

Government service personnel in Bornu estimated the population of Maiduguri at 75,000 to 80,000 during the period 1956/57.

565 one of the other
• 369 common features of the tala or peasant class is the verticality of
571 their social relations. This is especially true of political affiliations. All rural and most or many urban tala can give an easily elicited answer to the question, "Whose tala are you?" The person questioned then tells the name of his Lawan (Village Area Head).(1) Thus tala not only connotes peasant or commoner, it also means someone's peasant, i.e.
[178] under the jurisdiction of some political office holder. The fact that there is in the city a small but growing number of people who do not feel this verticality or connectedness upward in a traditional manner is one of the most profound portents of social change in contemporary Bornu.

565 The tala, rural and urban, have many cultural characteris-
369 tics in common. They most often wear a short work shirt (dankiki) during the day, and their conversation is less etiquette ridden and more direct than that of the upper class. Linguistic usages among the tala vary from place to place, but generally involve the dropping of some of the consonantal phonemes. Thus in Magumeri musko (hand) was pronounced muko by the tala. These linguistic differences are considered to be less elegant and correct compared to the speech of the upper class. As in many class societies the speech of the lower classes is coloured by many words which the upper class considers to come within the scope of profanity. Thus a Kanuri tala always sprinkles his friendly conversation with many references to Allah or to "the wonder of Allah", or even occasional exclamatory references to excrement and the excretory functions. To the upper classes evil deeds are committed by evil men (kam
[828] dibi); the same wrongdoer is more often referred to with an epithet like
_____ shege! (a bastard) by the tala.

[633] (1) The city is divided into large wards with Lawans as their Head Men and Hamlet Heads (Bulama) as the heads of sub-wards.

3: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1960 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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458 These figures show the spectacular rise in cash income which the Kanuri have enjoyed in the past two decades, and it is this fact basically, rather than increased productivity, which has accounted for the widespread innovations of industrially produced import goods.(1)

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571 Crop production is also affected by the lability of inter-personal relations. If it is personally profitable for an individual to become the subordinate of someone else, then he may leave his farm work in order to enter the service of his new superior. Many individuals (especially young men) suggested to the writer that if he would take them on as tada njima (sons of the house, pseudo sons) and give them money to trade, they would go anywhere in Bornu, whether or not they had crops growing at the time. Of course, if they had other sources of labour besides their own, then their crops would not be affected by their absence, but such considerations did not seem to be important to them.

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55 Finally, it should be realized that it is part of both the traditional and contemporary Kanuri conception of upward mobility that personal advancement is not to be found in farming. Achievement in Bornu is rather a function of profitable social relations and, more
433 recently, western education. As social and cultural change proceeds,
369 and progressively more full-time employment in the larger towns develops the urban growth and the attractions of the city for the peasant cultivator forms a continual pull on the rural population, and, therefore, on crop production. At present the rapid urban growth has not been felt as forcibly as it might be because of the large numbers of city dwellers who still maintain and work rural farms during the growing season.

(1) Cf. Winter, E.H., Bwamba Economy, East African Studies, No. 5, (1955), especially pp. 41-44.

342 the house often aided by the wives of the serwa participants cook a large
476 meal for the men who build the house. Materials are bought by the own-
565 er. This method is only practised in the construction of house types
342 "A" and "B". Secondly, building with mud is carried out by specialists
331 and they must be employed and paid to build the house. However, this
565 requirement is not clearcut; specialists are also used to construct house types "A" and "B", especially "B" which is a larger and more complicated variety. The determining variable for the use of specialists is social status. The higher the status of a male householder, the less likely is he to use a serwa and the more likely is he to utilize specialist la-
[369] bour. Today in the cities, southern Nigerians, especially Ibo contract-
[563] ors, as well as a few Hausa and Kanuri, contract with both the govern-ment and private indivudals to build houses using combinations of both traditional and western building techniques and design.

423 Rent is paid in the cities where houses are regularly pur-
[427] chased and sold by private persons. In rural areas, in the villages
[369] and hamlets, there is no need for house rental, since new housing is cheap and land is not scarce in or near the settlement. Land rights in Bornu are not, however, so simple, for the Kanuri do not operate their system of land tenure under one definite set of rules. The primary criterion for land ownership is usufruct. The land is given to the pea-
[425] sant by the political leader of the community. The peasant and his de-scendants hold this property for as long as they maintain its use, giving
423 the feudal leader a tithe every year on the produce. In Magumeri, the
632 Lawan (Village Head) has nominal control over all free land within a radius of about three-quarters of a mile from the town. Farms within this circle are called kulo fatobe (compound or "House" farms), while those beyond are called kulo karabe (bush farms). Permission should be sought

452 But credit per se plays a large part in the total economy. Thus the
441 butchers all remarked that they would buy cows during the wet season, preferably for cash. If this was not possible, they had arrangements with nomad cattle herders to take a cow on credit for a higher price, and then pay the herder after the meat had been sold. As we have seen, Ajimi's kola-nut business is run on credit. Many of the articles brought into the local market such as small manufactured goods, salt, sugar, cloth, and a host of other items are obtained on credit and payment made
452 after the sale. It is because this entire complex of trading relations
441 depends so much on credit that traditional behaviour norms of bərsum
571 and aman are applied to the economic organization. These institutionalized patterns of discipline and trust create an avenue for socially predictable behaviour without which credit relations would be impossible.

442 Credit also plays a part in the introduction of cash into
[452] the Bornu economy from the European sources of capital. The key role
[436] in this transmission is that of the sakelma (scale man) who buys the cash crop in the bush. An insight into this role may be seen in some of the interview material from Malam Mina, a wholesale salt trader, who also buys groundnuts over the scale at Magumeri during the harvest season. During November, Malam Mina, along with fifteen to twenty-five others, comes to Magumeri from the city. He sets up a grass mat shelter at the "station", near the motor road, about two hundred yards west of
[405] the town proper. The hallmark of this little colony is the scale which sits out in front of each shelter with bags of decorticated groundnuts
[443] being prepared for shipment into the city. Each shelter also has a generous supply of textiles for sale so that peasants may purchase their
[369] new cloth on the spot when cashing in the crop. The buyers also bring their city culture with them and during their short stay, morris chairs,

442 camp stools, battery radios, talk of politics and city life enliven the
• 369 rural scene.

442 Malam Mina buys for his mai gida, Alhaji Ali, a Kanuri trad-
443 er in Maiduguri who has a retail store or "canteen" as it is called
452 locally. The mai gida gives Malam Mina cigarettes, flashlight batteries,
perfumes , etc., for the latter's teber (table) or booth which a younger
[405] brother runs for him in Maiduguri. Alhaji Ali obtains about ten scales
from a Levantine trader during the harvest season and gives them out to
his tada (boys) who go to the bush and buy the cash crop. Malam Mina
receives a straight commission of 12/- per ton of decorticated nuts and
as much profit as he can on the import items (mostly textiles) which
are also obtained on credit from his mai gida. He remarked how he had
only been with Alhaji Ali this one year, last year having bought for
another man who had a direct link to a European company. However, last
year he found that his buying price was £2.0.0 less per ton than other
[434] scale men, and his commission fell. In 1955 his commission (from re -
ceipt slips) was about £60.0.0 but he hoped to get around £75.0.0 or
£80.0.0 in 1956-57.

442 Malam Mina may, if it is possible, depress the price below
435 the buying price given to him. This causes no undue concern on the part
[455] of his mai gida in the city as long as his tonnage does not decline. He
also buys futures at 20/- to 25/- per bag, whenever he can, but would not
estimate how much of this he does.

441 It is interesting to note that Malam Mina has been taken on
571 by his new mai gida and given a trading role without the more usual per-
iod of general service and subordination, as in the case of the "boys"
[212] of Alkali Bukar. Here we have another example of specialization. Malam
Mina is an experienced scale man. He can read and record figures and
sign his name.

000 at any particular point in time.

556 183 People are also ranked in terms of their wealth and the manner in which they use their material resources. There is a conflict between consumption of wealth for subsistence purposes and for the creation and maintenance of social relationships. This is only partially resolved by covert savings because the competition between subsistence needs and the high value placed upon generosity are irreconcilable in practice, given the low standard of living in the area.

369 554 In the society as a whole, people are differentiated as to whether or not they are rural or urban. This distinction is more sharply made by upper class city dwellers, since lower class urban dwellers have many ties which connect them to the rural areas as well as to the newly expanded cities.

565 Lower and higher statuses are generally co-ordinated into two broad segments or classes of the society. These large segments are characterized by many cultural features of dress, language, etiquette, house-type and so on. These features create the possibility of simulation of upper class membership by upwardly aspiring lower class individuals. Individuals can imitate these cultural concomitants to give the impression of more or less membership in a class. And this more or less quality turns the segmentary aspect of class into a status dimension along which people can be ranked.

554 828 829 Permeating all of the social stratification and perhaps helping to fuse the various segments is a cultural ideology concerning the nature of success. Kanuri culture contains a theory of society and its causes, all of which is embodied in the concept arziyi. The theory explains to the people, both the structure of society and mobility

178 511 their own "norm of living", thereby raising evaluative standards and creating desires for economic development among leaders. These changes 178 511 have not as yet deeply affected the peasant population. But even in 369 the bush new wants which mean wider and eventually more expensive consumption patterns can be seen among those rural people whose occupations put them in continuous contact with the cities. It seems inevitable that evaluations of present "norm of living" will become increasingly negative, and the desire for more goods, more comfort and more services will spread over the entire population. As we have seen, the Bornu peasantry are in no sense cut off from urban life, and must eventually follow the cultural lead of the city.

433 The organization of production in Bornu is marked by a high degree of flexibility, or what might be called change potential. The description has isolated several factors all of which tend to promote a wide variability in productive pursuits. These are as follows:

1. Ecology; the cultivation of crops takes only part of the year and most cultivators have other occupations besides farming. The balance between farming and non-farming activities is determined by disease, the predicability of the rains, prices of agricultural produce, soil depletion, and the attractiveness of non-agricultural occupations. The interplay of these determinants has resulted in a peasant population which, except for surplus producers, is only semi-agricultural, and a balance of agricultural to non-agricultural work which, for reasons both ecological and social, is never stable.

2. Differentiation of labour; the dependence of many men on their wives as primary sources of labour, and the high incidence of divorce makes for an unpredictable amount of labour in agricultural production. Furthermore social stratification and full time specialisation of labour

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Peasants often complained of excess taxation, or bad judicial decisions, or the harshness of some upper class person. Again most peasants when asked about Nigerian independence, thought of the idea as horrendous, for with the British gone they believe that they would be oppressed as of old by the upper class. Does this constitute a "class conflict?" If by "class conflict" is meant an opposition of interests, goals, loyalties of different ranks in society, then there is no "class struggle" in Bornu. The study has shown that there is no total reliance or identification of any whole strata or class horizontally across the society. A man feels friendly and culturally comfortable with his social equals. He also feels socially and psychologically comfortable with his followers, subordinates, kinsmen (if not competitors), close friends, and they with him. A peasant-commoner is not one among the masses of his social equals. He is someone's peasant, i.e. he is ranked in a system of superior/subordinate relationships that link him to a great complex feudal organization which is the State.

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(1)
This means, to use Gluckman's phrase, that the society is "cross-linked"

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by class and status on the one hand which bring together people of similar goals, rank, class, and wealth; and on the other hand, by feudal chains of superior/subordinate relations that link up individuals into a vertical system of loyalties so that a man's ties are both with his class and with his superiors. It is very difficult to imagine a "class conflict" while this kind of social organization is operating.

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However, the analysis allows us to see the conditions of change of the system. If the stability of the social organization depends, as this argument suggests, to a large extent on the cross-linkage of social relationships, then if these cross-links were to end or weaken, serious conflicts might result either horizontally or vertically depending upon

(1) See Gluckman, Max, Custom and Conflict in Africa, Oxford:Blackwell, 1955.

178 571 369 where the weakening occurs. This is the reason why the emergence of a very large city population poses a danger to the entire social system of Bornu. With a population approaching 100,000 in the restricted space of an urban center, it is increasingly difficult for everyone to connect himself to the hierarchical networks of social relations that make up the socio-political structure of Bornu. Thus the 1952 census recognized 4-5000 "vagrants" in Maiduguri and present estimates (1956-7) put this figure much higher. When this system of hierarchical linkages becomes less possible, it is a simple step to the formation of associations based primarily on linkages of simple interest, political parties, trade and occupation unions and so on. The beginning of such organizations can already be seen in the capital city of Maiduguri today.

178 571 511 Closely related to this verticality in Kanuri society is the widespread poverty and the relative increase in wealth as one moves up the status system. For it is materially beneficial at present for a subordinate to give subservience and loyalty to his senior. This means that a substantial rise in the standard of living can dispose of one of the major functions served by the present social structure. If a 178 571 511 556 tendency is set up in favour of horizontal rather than vertical relationships in the society, the fundamental philosophy of wealth will become a cart without a horse. For in the values of the contemporary culture the proper use of wealth is the creation of vertical relationships.

600 These remarks are not meant to be taken as categorical prophesies concerning the future of Kanuri society. The writer is painfully aware of limitations to accurate prediction which beset his own work and that of contemporary anthropology. However, having made an analysis of the structural framework of this society it seems advisable

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
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turn divided into craft work, sales of surplus agricultural products, and a complex middleman trade between markets. There is a large variation in dependence upon the market as against subsistence agriculture for obtaining total income, although some farming is carried on by almost everyone except a few full-time specialists.

The society is stratified, with status based on tribal membership, occupation, birth, age, wealth, and to some extent, urban residence identifications. The people recognize two major class divisions — the upper or ruling class (*Kəntuoma*) and the broad base of the peasant class (*tala*), under the autocratic hegemony of the rulers. Rosman (1959) uses eight separate categories of social status in his work on Kanuri acculturation. Cohen (1959) has used status gradients and their inter-relationships to explain social differentiation, upward mobility, and class structure.

The society has a monarch, the Shehu, in his capital city of Maiduguri, and courtly life with nobles, including *Ajia*, or District Heads, who live in their own district capitals as sub-rulers of twenty-one segments of the emirate under the Shehu. District Heads in turn have under their jurisdiction a group of contiguous Village Area units headed by *Lawan* or Village Heads. Under these latter are Hamlet Heads, *Bulama*, in charge of small settlements of contiguous compounds. Peasants call themselves the peasants of such and such a *Lawan*. Today the Native Administration departments have their personnel stationed throughout the districts. Along with the District Head and his followers they form an urban upper class living in the districts throughout the state.

The Situation

As part of a general programme of economic development in Northern Nigeria, agricultural research stations have been set up by the government in every province of the region. The results are published in annual reports so that Agricultural Officers may begin introducing new seeds, fertilizers, and even new crops on a wide scale as soon as these improvements are known to be feasible under local conditions.

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

This triviality is supported by traditional notions of cultural and social change. It has often been said that Muslims are tied to their traditional ways because of the fatalism inherent in their religious beliefs. Unfortunately this is an overgeneralization that explains very little, and certainly not the course of events described above. The Kanuri are Muslim, and they often do make fatalistic statements. But, their fatalism always concerns areas of total impotence as these are conceived of by the speaker. Thus rural peasants speak in a fatalistic way about the political organization of Bornu, although this is not the case with many urban persons who belong to, or support, reform parties. Or again, fatalism may be expressed over death, or knowledge of God, or the origin of the world, or its future. Fatalism is never referred to, however, for areas of behaviour that the individual construes to be susceptible to change by human efforts. This is especially true of two closely related areas of social life, (a) the economic sphere, and (b) social relations. The Kanuri believe that it is possible and desirable to increase economic status by one's own efforts. The preferred route to economic betterment is not via technology, although this is important, but by improving social relations. Thus to become a truck driver, one needs workable relations with people who are drivers, so that the status of apprentice may by achieved. That lorries are a technological improvement over horses and donkeys is easily perceived and accepted. That is to say, the Kanuri are not against change because as Muslims they accept the traditional world as a manifestation of God's will. They do believe, however, that individual advancement is gained primarily through profitable social relations, and only secondarily through technology.

It should also be noted in this respect that the Magumeri peasants never at any time voice any dissatisfaction with the quantity of their crop yields *using customary techniques*. Complaints are heard but these always have to do with other aspects of farm production more closely related to family and household organization. Traditionally, and this is so today, crop yields are increased through expanding one's acreage under cultivation. For all peasants questioned this is accomplished through the expansion of their household size, either by taking more wives, or client

[1 i.e., that dictatorial powers were not invoked over the decision to use or not to use fertilizer, thus defining the whole matter as trivial and unimportant in the minds of the people. -- Analyst]